16.

THE INTEREST OF THE Three Kingdom's,

With respect to the Business of the

Black Box,

And all the other

PRETENTIONS

Of his Grace the Duke of

MONMOUTH,

Discuss'd and Asserted;

In a Letter to a Friend.

The *Second Impression*; with large Additions, upon the Subject of the *Black Box*.

LONDON,

Printed for *James Vade*, at the *Cock* and *Sugar Loaf* near St. *Dunstans-Church* in *Fleetstreet*, 1680.

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THE INTEREST OF THE THREE KINGDOMS.

With respect to the Business of the

Black Box, &c.

SIR,

1. IT is not the particular Case of your Friend only, but of a great many (otherwise) Worthy and Eminent Persons, to be mis-led, and intoxicated, by the plausible pretence of a *Free Estate*, into a passionate Fondness, and Admiration of a *Popular Government*; never distinguishing betwixt the *Form* and *Essence* of a *Commonwealth*; the mistake whereof (each for the other) has prov'd so fatal in this Age; nor calling to mind that it was the misfortune of those that surfeited of our *Kingly Regiment*, and gap'd as impatiently after *Novelty* as any now adays can do; to lose the substance of *Liberty* and *Happiness*, in persute of the *Shadow*. Nay, and too too many (believe me Sir) there are also, that, sacrificing all considerations of *Conscience* and *Religion* to their *Mammon* Interest, do labour with all the Vigour and Artifice imaginable, to create in the *Multitude* a loathing of their present *Manna*, and a fresh longing for their late *Allegyptian Leeks* and *Garlick*. So that you are not to look upon my Endeavours to set things aright, as to this Point, to

be the pure Effects of my Compliance with your *Desires* for the satisfaction of your *Friend*, but rather of a pressing and indispensable *Duty*.

Neither your *Friend*, nor any other *Republican* will, I presume, maintain that a *Free Estate* (as they call it) is not subject to any Violations; because woful Experience will confute, and force them to confess either that a *Commonwealth* may *Degenerate*; or, at least, that the so much cry'd up Model of the *Late times* was no *Commonwealth*: And they must not only renounce their *Senses*, but even the *Faith* of *Story* also, which sufficiently proves that *Republicks* have been *sometimes* invaded with *Usurpations*; *sometimes* debauch'd and embas'd with *Oligarchy*; *mostly* (by reason of their Weakness and Divisions) *subdu'd* or Compell'd to truckle under their *Neighbouring Princes*; but *always* tormented with *Faction* and *Convulsions*. Nor in truth, has that *Party* as yet been able to produce any *Arguments* but such, as in effect, beg the *Question*; by presupposing great *Unity* in the *Coalition*, great *Probity* in the *Intention*, and great *Purity* in the *Exercise*; which being admitted, we should so little need to differ about *Forms*, that perhaps we should scarce need any *Government* at all.

As for my self, Sir, I ever abhorred *Bloodshed*, and do deem *one* Party in all *Wars* guilty of *Murther*, a Crime which as it cryes *High* for *Vengeance*, so ought it to cry *Loud* for *Unity* and *Moderation*; into which blessed Path may *This* ballance us, that we be not again *Balotted* into a *Field* of *Blood*. I plead for *Liberty*, not the *Name*, but the *Thing*; and design not to assert *Tyranny*, but *Kingship*, (as it relates to the *Laws* of the *Land*) to whose protection I am entitled by my *Birth*, for the preservation of my *Freedom* in *Person* and *Estate*; and that with more assurance, than possibly can be secur'd under the *Government* of *Many*, who scruple not commonly to term that *Justice* (and without *Remedy* too) which is *down right Faction*.

So,

So that with these thoughts about me I shall readily acknowledge (you may imagine) that even *Monarchy* it self is but as *Earthen Ware*, (though of the *finest* and *strongest Sort*) and liable to sundry *Contingencies*; *nothing under the Heavens being completely Perfect*. In the Constitution of *Governments*, 'tis childish to think upon erecting of *Babels* against a *Deluge*, but the *Design* must be to *embank* against *Floods*, and *enclose* the best that may be against *Trespassers*. This being premised, I shall proceed to handle the *Matter* in question, not *Metaphysically*, in *Notions* abstracted from their *Subjects* (a Pastime which our *Platonicks* much delight in) but *Morally* and *Reasonably*; and enforce such *Arguments* only as are *plain*, *sensible*, and *appropriate* to our own *Country*; leaving the *Notional* to our *Book-men*, whose *Volumes*, calculated for all *Climates*, swell big against the *Evils* of the *Rule* of MANY, or *Democracy*. Neither shall I presume to insist upon any such insuperable difficulties, as are of a quality too high for a private Pen to meddle with, must necessarily obviate the establishing of a *popular Platform* amongst us; but lay before you in the *First* place, the present State of the Nation, so Far forth only as may carry any immediate Relation to the *Subject*; and then draw all to an *Application*.

§ 2. THIS *Island*, now, is a large Continent, abundantly populous, and govern'd (I may say) by the Subordinate Influence of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; who live plentifully, and at ease upon their *Rents*, extracted from the Toyle of their *Tenants* and *Servants*; every one of of them Acting the *Prince* within the Bounds of his own *Estate*, where he is in a manner *Absolute*. His *Servants* and *Labourers* are as *Vassals*, his *Tenants* indeed are *Free*, but yet in the Nature of *Subjects*, whom he orders in his *Courts*, draws Supplys from by his *Fines*, and Awes by his *Power* and *Oaths* of *Fealty*, to great Submissions. The more his *Mannors* are, and the more indulgently he behaves

behaves himself (like a good *Prince*) the larger is his *Territory*, and the more awful are his *Commands*. A *Rich* and *Potent* Neighbour gives Check to an *Inferiour*; *He* again being over-ruled by one that is more considerable than himself. But yet none of these, with respect to his *Quality* and *Estate*, will admit of a *Parity* with a *meaner Neighbour*, much less with his *Tenant* or *Dependent*.

Into the Rank of *Gentry* do our *Officers*, *Citizens*, and *Burghers* aspire to be enroll'd: So that no sooner by *Arms*, *Office*, or *Trade*, do they acquire a competent *Stock*, but forthwith for *Land* it is dispos'd; and then, disowning the Title of *Soldiers*, *Citizens*, or *Burghers*, they take to themselves the Degree and Name of *Gentlemen*, with *Arms* not improper; for *England* within it self, has been so often shuffled from *High* to *Low*, that there is scarce any *Artificer* but may find his Name in the *Heralds-Book*, though not his *Pedigree*, which *Ingenuity* yet and *Good Will* may easily supply, and thus being Equipt with a *Title* and *Estate*, they set up suitably the *Dominion* within their *Territories*, which none do dispute, as having no right to intermeddle with what a man *has* or *does* within himself: For, by *Gentry* I understand not such only as are so in *Blood*, but in *Quality* also; such as live easily and like *Princes*, upon the Labours of their *Dependents*.

Out of This *Order* are usually constituted our *Sheriffs*, *Justices* of the *Peace* &c. By the countenance of which Authorities they so order all *Elections* to *Parliament*, or *otherwise*, that the *Country* Commonly follow their respective *Factions*, and the *Commonalty* in their *Votes* are manag'd by *Them*, as a Horse by his Rider. Now as the *Agrarian* or *Interest* of *Land*, is principally in these Two *Ranks*, So also is the Consequence thereof, *Power* and *Command*; which emboldens them to such a Height of *Spirit* (natural to our *Nobility* and *Gentry*) that they are too apt to undervalue Persons of Inferiour Condition, [*Burgesses* and *Mechanicks*,] with whom to *Inter-*

marry

Marry, by our *Old Law* was a *Disparagement* for a *Ward*; and this *Spirit* of *Generosity* is not to be suppreſt, ſo riveted is it in their *Natures*, but by the Eradication of their *Qualities* at leaſt, if not their *Perſons*.

And indeed the eſtabliſhing of a *Free Eſtate* (ſo call'd) were otherwiſe *Deſperate* and *Impracticable*; (which the prevailing *Mechanicks* among the *Swiſſers*, ſoon found to be true.) It being of the very *Eſſence* of a Common-wealth, to reduce all *Degrees* to a *Parity*. For as *Titles* and *Honours* are incident to *Kingſhip*; ſo alſo are *Equality* of *Place*, and *Birth*, to *Democracy*; unleſs where, in caſe of *Office*, for the *Time* only, they are entitled to a *Precedency*. Reduced you muſt be, Sir, to the Condition of the *Vulgar*; for though you are already ſtiled *Commoners*, yet that is only a *Fallacy* of the *Name*, and deludes our *Statiſts*; you being ſuch, no otherwiſe than *Repreſentatively*, and rather the managers of the *Peoples purſe*, than purely *Commons*. Neither yet would the bare procuring of ſuch a *Parity* be ſufficient to do your *Friend*'s Buſineſs; unleſs he could alſo get a *Supreme Power* eſtabliſh'd in ſome ſuch *Body Corporate*, Compacted and Permanent, as, by reducing of divers meet Cities, Forts, and Caſtles, under its Command as the Head Colony, might give Law to the ſeveral Counties, and mould them into a Vaſſalage competent to make up a free Eſtate. But this you know is as well impious, as upon ten thouſand accounts impoſſible to be effected. Nay, and though this point were alſo obtainable, yet would not our *Nobility* and *Gentry* have either the *Honour* of the *Name*, or *Benefit* of the *Thing*; nor would it be inſtiled the *Common-wealth* of *England*, but of that particular place that ſhould ſo uſurp upon the reſt of the *Nation*; and then too our pay muſt be as *they* impoſe, our *Liberty* as they vouchſafe it, and we ſubject to our Inferiors.

Nor is this Diſcourſe to be lookt upon as meer *Drollery*; for from This *Embrio* have iſſued thoſe *Common-wealths* which are ſo fam'd in *Notion*; as *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Athens*,

Athens, *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, *Thebes*, &c. Great Cities of that Name, which, having subdu'd the adjacent *Territories*, denominated the *Dominion*; wherein only those of the *Freedom* (*Citizens* and *Denizens*) had *Vote* or *Power*; the *Nobles* and *Gentlemen* being purely *Tributary* to the *Chief City*; unless they transplanted themselves, renounc'd their *Cities*, and so, by degrees, advanc'd into the *Honour* of a *Burgess*; as we now do exercise our *Junior* issue. And little different are at this day the celebrated *Common-wealths* of *Venice*, the *United Provinces*, the *Swisses*; not to instance in those *Petty States* of *Genoua*, *Ragusa*, *Geneva*, &c. All of them mostly denominated from those *Principal Cities*, which give Law to the adjacent *Provinces*. Those indeed of the *Hollanders* and *Switzers*, tho' they derive not so directly, their *Title* from *One City*, yet are they (in *Substance*) of the same *Composure*; being only an *United Body* of Corporated *Cities*, combin'd in *One*, for *Mutual Defence* against *Invaders*, but of an *equal Power* to impose upon the Neighbouring *Territories*, situate under the aw of each respective *City*, or *Town-Garrison*. It falls not within my Memory, that there ever was, or at This Day is, a *Free-Estate* in the whole World, that's manag'd by the *Gentry* inhabiting at large, or by any People not combin'd within the *Jurisdiction* of their Walls; except the *Grisons*; who are a scatter'd People of a mean *Quality*, having long since disown'd their *Gentry*; and are without *Walled Towns* or *Garrison*, whose Confusions make them easie for Conquest, were their Country worth it, and not secur'd by the *United Cantons*.

But to apply the *Premises*, can your *Friend*, or any other Man of the same *Stamp* imagine, that our *Nobility* and *Gentry* (as now in Power) will ever be induc'd to admit a *Parity*; will level their *Degree* and *Domination* to a Proportion with their *Coppy-holders*? Nay, will renounce the *wearing* of a *Sword*, and learn to *make* one?

Will

Will submit to become *Tributary* to the *Neighbour-Colony*? If this can be brought about; then perhaps (and not till then) may we again hope to aspire from our present Glorious *State* of *King-ship*, to a *Free-state* in *Clown-ship*, or at least, from the *Free-giving* of *Subsidies*, to the *Majesty* of a *Scepter*; to the *Forced-payment* of Tribute to the *High* and *Mighty Burgher*; such as was that *High* and *Mighty Butcher*, who, not many years ago was commissioned by the *Swisses*, as one of their *Chiefs* to be *God-Father* to the *French King's* Son. Now as *Plato* phansi'd his *Community*, and Sir *Thomas More* his *Utopia*; so are some of *these* big with hopes of a Rotation; thereby to reassume their Idoliz'd *Model* of a *Commonwealth*, out of the scatter'd *Gentry*, in the nature of a *House of Commons*. But since nothing but new *Experiments* will serve such mens Turns, I could wish they would find other Subjects to try Conclusions upon, than the *Estates*, *Lives*, nay, the very *Souls* of *Christians*. You well remember I'me sure, Sir, that we once ran the *Loss* of *Those*, and the *Hazzard* of *These*, upon the cloudy prospect of a *Chimera* in the *Brains* of some: The word *Liberty* deluded us into *Patience*, and patience from 1648. 1660. brought forth not less *Payments*, but more *Servitude*. And let them not hope to bring Countenance to their *Cause*, by alledging (as they have once done) that they could never be permitted to to foster up their *Babe* to full perfection; for they will ever be opposed by all *Wise* and *Loyal* men, who having experimented the *Evils* of such a *State*, will be as vigilant and industrious to keep it from getting footing among us again, as those that are *otherwise*, can be to bring it on. Beside that, you cannot have forgot, Sir, that from 1648. to 1653, they had it from the *Nurse*, and (had they stuck to their *Pretences*) might in five years time (or never) have set it upon its *Feet*; only they too soon (poor wretches) found the *sweets* of Usurpation. But then it could never have been of any long *Continuance*, as manifestly appear'd

from the great scorn and bitterness that the *Supporters* of it were reproach'd with, when it was *dissolv'd*; there was not so much as one *Bloody Nose* in the defence of that *High and Mighty State*; all the members of it being held in the utmost degree of *detestation*, as they most justly deserved. And though these *Rumpers*, 'its true, came *twice* into play, yet were they only made use of to serve a *Turn*, as being fit to be made a *Property* of; for it was presently found that it was not the desire of *their Rule*, but of a *further change*, that inspirited the *People* against the *Army*; and they (being next at hand) had no sooner remounted the *empty Saddle*, but (before they could be well warm in their *Seat*) they were again *Unhors'd* with a *Publick Leave*, as appear'd by the *Bonefires* (upon *That* Occasion) that might have lighted them to the *Lands-end*, if they had dar'd to be seen among them. So that it is plain from what has been said, that it is not the *sense* or *Interest* of a *Few*, that can long sway a *Nation*; for if the *publick Spirit* be averse, at the *long run* it will prevail; the more Dispute there is with it, the more perverse it grows. And whatever such *Enthusiasts* may dream, even when the *Multitude* have the *Power*, the *Command* yet rests in a *Few*. The most *active Spirits* lead the *Herd*, and ingross the *Place*, the *Profit*, and the *Sway*: This, in generous minds, begets, *Disdain*, and *that*, *Faction*; for when *all* are *equal*, thousands think themselves as deserving of *Rule*, as those that carry it; to satisfie *all* is impossible; to please *few* displeases the *Most*: The Transactions of *that Party* from 1648. to 1660. have made this as *sensible*, as they rendred themselves *contemptible*. In a word, the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *England* have *Spirits* pure, naturally just and generous, like *Fire* aspiring (as a Pyramide) from *low* to *high*; and never resting till it contracts it self into an *Unity* at *top*: So *God* is *One*, or he were not *God*, nor could he Rule the World; and if your Friend likes not *this President*, but still continues to delight in the Rule of

Many,

Many, let him begin a *Pattern* in his own *Family*, and he may *there*, possibly, have enough to do.

§. 13. NOW my hand's in, I shall venture to set one step further, and refresh your memory with a *View* of our *Condition* whilst this *Free-State* kept *above Water*, the *Past* being the surest Clew to direct us in our *Conjectures* upon *Futurities*. In those days we were never free (you may remember) from the apprehensions of an *Insurrection* at *Home*, or an *Invasion* from *Abroad*; living in continual *Jealousies* even of our very next *Neighbours*. These *Fears* obliged us to maintain a considerable *Force* at *Land* and *Sea*, which, lying idle, corrupted, as *standing Water* in a *Pool*, and every moment threatned fresh *Combustions*, as they were blown up this or that way by their new *Masters*; but at the best (like our old Lord-*Danes*) they were most insupportably burthensom and odious to the *Country*, by their *Quartering*; and to keep them as much in *action* as possibly we could, we were fain either to be perpetually amusing them with pretended Discoveries of some *new feigned Plot* or other, or else to engage them in *Foreign Wars*. For the support of this Army (now) we were compelled to daily *Contributions*, besides great and innumerable *Customs* that were exacted; together with the *Excise*, (a *Brat* begotten in the *Low Countries*, with their *State*, which makes them *free* indeed, but then it is in in *Purse*, not in *Privilege*) a Tribute which no King of *England* did always demand, before they enforc'd us to pay it; which being ever before look'd upon as *Poyson*, we then took as *Physick*, and for the bare, but necessary *mention* whereof, in the *House of Commons*, that *Grand Patriot* (as they stiled him) Mr. *Pym*, was by a young Spirit (not without great Applause) call'd to the *Bar*: Add hereunto the *Benevolences*, *Sequestrations*, *five and twentieth parts*, a *Tax* of *fifty Subsidies* at once, (though the late King suffered so much by the demand of *twelve* only) *Fines* and

Compositions,

Compositions, sale of *Kings*, *Bishops*, *Deans* and *Chapters*, and *Delinquents Lands*, the *two parts* of *Papists Estates*, nay a share of our very *Charities* to the distressed; and all this over and above the ordinary and constant assessments that were levied. How was it all devoured by this *Army*, whose belly indeed was bottomless? and yet what *Arrears* did we owe them just before the King's Return? Three millions at least! Reform it we durst not, and our constant *charge* to maintain it could not be less than two *Millions yearly*. In a word, we never used to be in a worse condition, than when free from Rebellions, because when the people were quiet, we had no *Lands* either to *sequester* or to *sell*. Our *Trade* fell to nothing, our *Traffick* was interrupted, our *Gold* walk'd *beyond Sea* more freely than in our *own Country*; and we lost no less than 2000 Sail of *Ships* in two or three years time: There was no *settlement*, but we were every day dancing after a *new Whistle*; *ten Models* we had in proposal at one time, and every *Faction* ready with *Blood* to aver his own *way* to be the best. By our known *Laws* we could not be imprison'd, but by a Regular proceeding in a *Course* of *Justice*; but under our *free Estate* (on the other side) upon the most slight suggestions of a spiteful *Neighbour* in Authority, we were presently seiz'd by the *Serjeant at Arms*, with his exorbitant Fees! No *Bail*, no *Habeas Corpus*, no regular way of *Justice* to do us right! but, after a *Twelvemonths* stay in *Goal*, if we could make good *Friends*, and *humble* our selves to our potent *Adversary*, we might possibly be discharg'd; but without *amends*, or knowing of our *Crime*. Lo thus, while we cajol'd our selves with the *Name* of *Freedom*, we lost the *Thing*; and became *free*, only to be made the most despicable of *Slaves*.

By this, Sir, you see that the *Question* in hand might be decided in a few words; and only by alledging the invincible *Inclination* of the English to *Monarchy*, as it is now established: For as no man can well be wrong'd with his

consent;

consent, so neither is any man to be oblig'd (were there any such thing in the case) against his *Will*. And indeed how should a *Government*, founded upon *inequality* and *force*, ever subsist *without* it? Or a *State* that must necessarily be the meer *Adjective* of an *Army*, become a *Substantive*? With as much *Reason* might I also object matter of *Title*, because the *same* Estate, with a *flaw* in the *conveyance*, or clogg'd with *Statutes* and *Judgments*, is not strictly of like *value*, as if it had been descended clearly from the *great Grandfather*, and were free from *Claims* and *Incumbrances*. But it shall be the next part of my business, with all convenient brevity, to shew that the *present establish'd Government*, as it excellently complies with the *Laws*, *Genius*, and *Interest* of this *Nation*, so it comprehends all the *Benefits* of a *Commonwealth* in great perfection.

To demonstrate how it complies with our *Laws* and *Constitutions*, let it suffice, That (*Monarchy*, in these *Nations*, being more ancient than *Story* or *Records*, more venerable than *Tradition* it self) our *Laws* were born (as it were) under this *Climate*, habituated to this *Diet* and *Air*, grafted into this *Stock*; and though we have (thanks be to God) forgotten our *Norman*, yet will it be very hard for us to learn *Greek*, much less *Utopian*; That in the late *Usurper*'s time, our *Lawyers*, with one Voice, importun'd him rather to assume the *Style* and *Power* of a *King*, to which they found all our *Laws* were shaped, than retain that of a *Protector*, unknown to the *Law*: That nothing rendred the late *Architects* of a *Commonwealth* more obnoxious, than that (notwithstanding their infinite *Discords* in other things) they generally agreed in the *necessity* of subverting all our *Fundamental Laws*, in order to their *Design*: Which Consideration (we are in *Charity* to believe) obliged the sober men of all Parties, the true *Patriots*, (nay and even the chiefest *Pillars* of the *Parliaments Cause* too) to unite themselves with the *Royal Interest*, as not endu-

ring

ring to hear of those violent and dangerous *Alterations* which they plainly saw a *Republick* must necessarily introduce.

For its suiting with our *Genius*, examine we (in the first place) the various *Revolutions* that have happened to this *Island*; *Britains*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*; or (more *nearly*) the *changes* in their *Descents* from the *direct Line* to the *Collateral*; or (yet *nearer*) the *times* of *Insurrection* and *deposing Kings*; *Edward* and *Richard*, (both the *Seconds* of the *Name*) and we shall find *King-ship* ever to have been in fashion. Nay, *that* of King *John* is more *notorious*, for when the People had in a sort *dethron'd* him, and sworn *Allegiance* to *Lewis* of *France*, yet when *John* died, the same *People* not only *Expelled* the *Forreigner*, but having got the *Power* into their own hands, they *Crowned* King *John*'s Son, being then an *Infant* without *Interest* or *Adherents*: Nor will all our *Chronicles* afford us one single *Instance* of any *Design* or *Endeavour* to erect a *Free Estate*, (before the late *unnatural times* furnish'd the *President*) no not when *Wat Tyler*, or *Jack Straw* revell'd it with their *Clowns*. Neither is this *Genius* ever to be *chang'd*, for reflect we (in the *second* place) that as our *English Nature* is not like the *French*, supple to *Oppression*, and apt to delight in that *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of their *Lords*, which (they know) is supported with their *Slavery* and *Hunger*; Nor like the *Highland Scots*, where the *Honour* and *Interest* of the *Chief* is the *Glory* of the whole *Clan*: So doth it as little (or less) agree with the *Dutch* humour, addicted only to *Traffick*, *Navigation*, *Handicrafts*, and sordid *Thrift*, and (in defiance of *Heraldry*) every man fancying his own *Scutcheon*. For does not every one amongst us, that has the *Name* of a *Gentleman*, labour his utmost to uphold it? He that has *not*, to raise one? To this end, do not our very *Yeomen* commonly leave their *Lands* to the *Eldest* Son, and to the *other* nothing but a *Flail*, or a *Plow*? Did not every one (in the days of our late blessed *Martyr*) pinch himself

himself in his Condition, to purchase a *Knight-hood* or small *Patent*? What need further proof? You cannot but remember, Sir, how that bare *glimpse* and *shadow* of *Monarchy* under *Cromwel*, and his Son *Dick*, (though persons even at the same time *hated* and *scorn'd*; and that too upon a most impious and scandalous account) was, for meer resemblance sake, admitted as *tolerable*, and (in respect of a *Commonwealth*) *courted*: Which clearly evinces, how grateful the *substance* must needs be to all *true English Spirits*.

As to our *Interest*, briefly, (to wave *tedious* and *politick Discourses*) there is no man, but with half an eye may foresee that a *Republick* (were there any possibility of setling one) would destroy all our present *Peace* and *Felicity*, ruinate our *Trade* and *Traffick*, involve us in a *Field* of *Blood*, alarm all our *Neighbours*, make our best *Allies* our bitterest *Enemies*, and probably draw upon us the united force of *Christendom*, to crush the *Embryo*; which would be the utter *destruction* and *enslaving* of this most *free* and *prosperous Nation*, (could it but once be capable of a due *sense* of its own *Felicity*) to the *Tyrannical Domination* of a *Foreigner*. Beside, (at best) by what *Title* can we pretend to hold *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, should that of *Descent* be avoided; for *Consent* there is none, nor can any be expected?

§. 5. BUT I come now directly to assert, That the *Present Government* eminently includes all the *Perfections* of a *Free-Estate*, and is the *Kernel* (as it were) of a *Commonwealth* in the *Shell* of *Monarchy*. To begin with the *Essential Parts* of a *Commonwealth*: If ever there were a *Free* and *Honourable Senate* (or *Parliament*) under the Cope of *Heaven* it is here; where the *Deputies* of the *whole Nation* most *freely* chosen, do with like *freedom* meet, Propound, Debate, and Vote all matters of *Common Interest*: No *Danger* escapes their Representing, no *Grievance* their

Complaint, no *Publick Right* their Claim, or *Good* their demand; in all which, the least breach of *Privilege* is usually branded with *Sacrilege*: And though there lyes no *Appeal* to the *dispersed Body* of the *People*, (a *Decision* manifestly impracticable in *Government*, and fitter indeed for *Tribunes* to move, than *Nations* to admit) yet (*Elections* being so *popular*, and *Conventions frequent*) the *same end* is attained with much more *safety* and *convenience*. As to the *Executive Part* of the Prince's *Power*, he exercises it by *Ministers* and *Officers*, not only *sworn*, but severely *accomptable*: And though both *He* and the *Lords* have their *Negatives* in passing of Bills, and it be the *King only*, that by his *Royal Fiat*, makes our *Laws*; yet no *Tax* being imposable but by the *consent* of the *Commons*, nor any *Law* (without it) of such *validity*, that the *Ministers* of *Justice* will enforce it, there is a *wise* and *sweet necessity* for the *King*, and likewise for the *Lords*, to pass all such Bills as are convenient for the *People*, and not greatly *hurtful* to the *Prince*. And those that duly weigh the *Reason* of *things*, do find a *Negative* in the *King* to be a most safe *preservative* of *Peace* to the People, who have as much *comfort* under the protection of his *Prerogative*, as they have *Benefit* by their own Privileges; For in truth, this *Bug-bear Negative* (as our *Republicans* labour to represent it) is an impenetrable *Target*, to shelter and secure the Government from being alter'd at the *Will* of the *Commons*, if at any time they should again prove factious. This (being in *season* manifest) has also been confirm'd by great Experience; our *Kings* having rarely obstructed any *Bill* which they might safely grant; but on the other side, pass'd many *High Acts* of *meer Grace*; circumscribing their *Prerogative*, and clipping its *Wings*; nay better had it been for us, if they had not pierc'd its very *Bowels*.

This is that *Triple-Cord* that could never yet be *broken*, though it has been *Cut asunder*; This is our *Gold seven times Refin'd*; for every *Bill*, being *thrice* Read, Debated, and Agreed

Agreed in *Either House*, is at last brought to the *King* for his *Royal Assent*; (which is the *Mint* of our *Laws*:) a *Tryal* so exact, that surely no *Dross* can escape it; since all *Interests* must thereto concur; as truly it is but fit they should, in the Establishment of *That* which must *Bind all*. This is that *Temperament*, which purges our *Humors*, and (at once) endues us with *Health*, *Vigour*, and *Beauty*: No *Vote* is here precipitated; no *Act* huddled up; as by sad *Events*, you saw they formerly us'd to be, when the *Power* was engrossed by a pretended House of *Commons*, purg'd and moulded to the *Interests* of a *Faction*, a *Consequence* but Natural to such *Premises!* Nothing was (*there*) weigh'd, but as in a Ballance consisting of one Scale; our *Laws* were *Mandrakes* of a *Nights Growth*; and our *Times* as *Fickle* as the *Weather* of the *Multitude*.

The *King* has the *Power of making War*, but then he cannot well be said to have the *Means*; so that it does not amount to extraordinary much more, than a *Liberty* to *Fly* if he can get *Wings*. He has a *Sword* also; but *Himself* alone very rarely draws it: And though he has the sole right in the *Militia*, yet is he pleased to wear it only as a decent Weapon; Vouchsafing to the Nation, in a large Degree, the *Use* and *Benefit* of it. He chuses his *Ministers*; (as who doth not his *Servants?*) but then they pass through such a *Test*, as none but the soundest *Integrity* can abide. He can hinder the stroke of *Justice* with his *Pardon*, (tho' still, the *Laws* not being *muzzled*, it will *Bite* terribly) but then (on the *Other* side) the means of *Relieving* his *Wants* rests in the *Commons*, to Ballance his *Will*, and induce him to a *Correspondence* with *Parliaments*.

That his *Person* should be *Sacred*, is most *Needful*, to avoid *Circulation* of *Accounts*; *Reasonable*, since it carries with it the *Consent* of *Nations*; *Just*, that he become not the meer *Butt* of *Faction*, and *Malice*, and be in a worse *Condition* than the *Basest* of *Vassals*; *Honourable*, that the *Nakedness* of *Government* be not daily *Uncover'd*; *Wise*,

in the *Constitution* that so we may not (at *once*) both *Trust*, and *Provoke*, by forcing him to shift for his *Own Indemnity*; no danger to the *Publick*, seeming so *Extreme*, as the *Outlawry* of a *Prince*; no *Task* (by daily *Experience*) so difficult, as the *Arraigning* of any *Power*, whether *Regal* or *Popular*: And if we make *Golden Bridges* for *Flying Enemies*, much more should we afford them to *Relenting Sovereigns*, against whom we have no remedy but Prayers and Patience. Upon this account, in our Neighbour *Kingdom* of *France*, even *Princes of the Blood* are not subjected to *Capital Punishments*. *Finally*, very *safe* it is in the Consequence; for should a *King* be never so *wicked* and *Tyrannical*, yet being (by the danger threatning his Corrupt *Ministers*) stript of *Agents*, his *Personal Impunity* might signifie something to *Himself*, perhaps, but nothing to the *People*.

A *Revenue* he has, for the support of his *State* and *Family*, *Ample*; for the *Ordinary Protection* of his *People*, *Sufficient*; but for any considerable *Undertaking*, *Defective*; and for *Publick Oppression* so *Inconsiderable*, that when *Prerogative* was most *Rampant*, our *Greatest Princes* (and some doubtless we have had, the most Renowned *Warriours* of their *Age*) could never, prudently, aspire to make themselves *Absolute*. The *Royal Revenue* is proportioned to the Maintenance of *Courts*, not *Camps*, and *Fleets*: In fine, it is very *Competent* for *Ordinary Disbursements*, and as for *Extraordinary* he resorts to *Parliaments*; the *Wiser* He, and the *Happier* We! Now there is nothing more *Demonstrative*, than that, upon Examination, we may find the *present Government* to be (compared with all the other *Models* of the *Late Times*) a mighty *Ease* to the *Publique Charge*; we allow'd the *Tyrant Cromwell* no less then a constant *Revenue* of 1900000 *l.* to support him in his *Usurpation*; and yet That Sum (beside all his other intollerable *Squeezings*) at the years end, clear'd not the Account by far. Under the *Rump* a great deal more was yearly

ly Collected out of the *Bowels* of the People, to maintain the *Army*; and yet for all that we could never be at quiet, but were perpetually embroyl'd in *Wars* either *Abroad* or at *Home*, by our *active Spirits*, *some* to feed their *Ambition*, *others* their *Purses*: And such a *Spirit* we read of, working in all *Free-States*, *Ancient* and *Modern*. What shall we say now of the *Expences* of the *Late King*, if examin'd by This *Standard*? His *Revenue* in *Lands*, *Perquisites*, and *Customs*, exceeded not 700000 *l.* a year; and yet by the good management of that most *Thrifty* and *Temperate* Prince, that *petite Annuity* furnish'd a *glorious Court*, a *Noble Equipage* for the Honour of the *Nation*, and paid off a considerable *Fleet*; which never was much improved, afterwards, by all our vast *Payments*, when we were so unfortunate as to fall into *Others* hands. Nay and our *present Charge* is rather a *Sport*, than a *Burthen*, compared with their *Monthly Tax*.

True it is, that while we live with *Men*, we shall be subject to *That* which is the Effect of their *Nature*, *Sin*; nor is it possible to reap the more *General Fruit* of the best Establish'd *Policy*, unless we submit to some possible *Inconveniences*. But yet I defie your *Friend*, and all other *Projectors* of *Common-wealths*, to contrive greater Freedom for their *Citizens*, than is provided by *Magna Charta*, and *The Petition* of *Right*; or shew that it is not much easier to *Violate*, than to *Mend* them; for *Thereby*, our Lives, Liberties, and Estates are, under *Monarchy*, secur'd and establish'd as well (I think) as any thing, on this side *Heaven*, can be. It is no *Solœcism* to say, that the *Subject* has his *Priviledges*, as well as the King; and no *Prince* ever attempted any Violation of them, but at the *Long Run*, he suffer'd in that point of his *Prerogative* that let in the *Opportunity*. Hence it is that the *Rights* of the *People* have grown stronger and stronger against the *Prince*, and *sometimes* have hurried his *Person* to be a Sacrifice; *always*, his *Instruments*; whereof few, in our *History*, can we read, that, Designing against the *Law*, have died in *peace*. If, possibly,

possibly, *One Prince* (as King *Harry*) by his *High Spirit*, sweep all before him, yet his *Infant Successor* is fain to make amends for his Fathers *Violations*: So that *Liberty* (we see) is no less *Sacred*, than *Majesty*; *Nolime tangere* being its *Motto* likewise: And in case of any, the least *Infringement*, (as *Escapes* in *Government* may happen, even in the most *perfect*) it is resented as if the *Nation* had received a *Box on the Ear*. If it be (as they say) the *Glory* of a *Free-State*, to *Exalt*; the *Scandal* of *Tyranny*, to *Embase* our *Spirits*; doubtless the *Establish'd Form* is our *Only Common-wealth*; for all that we got by the *Change* of it, was but the learning quietly to take the *Bastinade*. Nay, and at the very *worst* that can be imagin'd, it is much more *Easie* (were it *Lawful*) for us to dispute our *Rights* with a *single Prince*, and his *Trembling Agents*; than (as it was our *Case* formerly) with a *Knot* of *Sovereigns* that are backt with the *Sword*.

We are now again able to distinguish (which we could never do under their *Free-Estate*, for all the fair Promises they made us) the *Legislative*, and the *Ministerial Authority*: For tho' *both* of them are Inherent in the *King*, yet are not both of them his own peculiar and Personal *Act*. We know that the *House* of *Commons* has not the Power of a *Court-Leet*, to give an *Oath*, nor of a *Justice of the Peace*, to make a *Mittimus*: And this *Distinction*, doubtless, is the most *Vital part* of *Freedom*, and far more considerable to poor *Subjects*, than all these mens pretended *Rotations*; as, on the *contrary*, the absolute *Jumbling* and *Confounding* of them, is an Accomplishment of *Servitude*; for which all Republicks, I fear, (and our late one more especially) have more to Answer, than any *Limited Sovereign* can have. And certain it is, that as our *Prince*, in his *Personal Capacity*, *makes* no *Laws*; so neither does he, by *himself*, *Execute* or *Interpret* any: No *Judge* takes notice of his *single Command*, to justifie any *Trespass*; no not so much as the breaking of a *Hedg*; his

his *Power* is Circumscribed by his *Justice*; he is (equally with the meanest of his *Subjects*) concern'd in that *Honest Maxim*; *We may do just so much, and no more, than we have* Right *to do.* And it is tolerably enough said, with respect to his Political Capacity, *He can do no wrong*, because, if it be *wrong*, he does it not, it is *void* in the *Act*, and *punishable* in his *Agent.* His *Officers*, as they are alike lyable, so, perhaps, they are more *Obnoxious* to *Indictments* and *Suits*, than any *other*; by how much their *Trespass* seems to be of a *Higher Nature*, and gives greater *Alarm*: His *Private Will* does not Countermand his *Publick*; his *Privy Seal* still buckles to his *Great Seal*, as being (in a sense) the *Nations*, as well as *His*; His *Order* supercedes no *Process*; and His *Displeasure* threatens no man with an hours *Imprisonment*, after the *Return* of *Habeas Corpus*: An *Under Sheriff* is more Terrible, a *Constable* more Sawcy, a *Bayliff* more Troublesom than *He*: And yet by his *Gentle Authority*, by this *Scabbard* of *Prerogative* (as some in derision have lewdly term'd it) which (if it *Would*) *Could* scarce Oppress an *Orphan*; *Tumults* are Curb'd, *Faction* Moderated, *Usurpation* forestall'd, *Intervals* Prevented, *Perpetuities* Obviated, *Equity* Administred, *Clemency* Exalted, and the *People* made *Happy* to a degree even of *Satiety* and *Wantonness*.

To Conclude this *Point*: What shall I add more? The *Act* enjoyning the *Keepers* of the *Great Seal*, under pain of *High Treason*, to *Summon* a *Triennial Parliament*, of Course, by Virtue of the *Act*, without *further Warrant*; The *Act* forbidding the *Privy-Council* to intermeddle with *Meum & Tuum*; the Law abolishing the *Star Chamber*, *High Commission*, &c. Branding all *past*, and Bridling all *future enormities*: The *Statutes* limiting the *King's Claims*, the Acts about Quartering of Soldiers, and *Habeas Corpus*; beside many other principal *Immunities*, wherewith (by the Especial *Favour* of *God*, and the *Bounty* of our *Princes*) we are *Blessed*, far beyond any of our *Neighbours*: Above all,

our *Assurance* (by the *Goodness* and *Clemency* of our present *Dread Sovereign*) readily to obtain such further *Addition* and *perfection* of *Liberty* and *Security*, (if any such there can be) as may consist with *Modesty* and *Liberty* it self, to ask: Does not all this Proclaim aloud, that we are the *Mirrour* of *Governments*, *Envy* of *Monarchies*, and *Shame* of *Common-wealths*; who cannot but blush to see themselves so Eclipsed and Silenc'd, in all their *Pretences* to *Freedom*? And does it not more than justifie my *Assertion*, that *with all the* Ornaments *of the* Nobleft Kingdom, *we have, likewise, all the Enjoyments of* a Free-Estate.

§. 6. HAVING thus given you the *Reasons* why I conceive, the Project of fixing the *Model*, which your Friend terms a *Free-Estate*, here among us, would be *Impracticable*; presented you with a Prospect of the mischiefs and Distractions that were the *Consequents* of a like attempt from Forty to Sixty; Asserted the natural *Print* and *Inclination* of the *English* to *Monarchy*, exclusively of any other Form of *Regiment* whatsoever; Anatomiz'd the *Royal Prerogative*, and Sum'd up the great Immunities, Blessings and Privileges which we do peculiarly, and above any other People or Nation in the known World, at this day enjoy, under the established *Government Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*: I shall now apply my self directly to touch upon the *Second Branch* of your *Commands*; I mean the *Affair* of the *Black-Box*, and the *Design* of *Interrupting* and *Inverting* the *Legal Succession* of the *Crown* of these *Kingdoms*.

You would not (I know Sir) have imposed a *Trouble* of *This* nature, either upon your self, or *Me*, had you been Ignorant, or Insensible of the Active and Inveterate *Malice* of some Turbulent, Evil-minded Persons (Profess'd Enemies to all *Civil Rule* and *Order*) who perceiving the Eye of *Authority*, necessitated to abate of its usual Strictness over them, upon the Discovery of the *Hel-*

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Irish Plot now in Agitation, and Designing not to let slip so Eminent an *Occasion* of expressing their *Malevolence* to the *Government*, and of improving the just *Odium* the *Papists* at present lye under, into some degree of *Reputation* to their own *Party*, both at once; have mightily endeavoured and bestir'd themselves, by false *Reports*, forged *Tales*, and *Discoveries*, Invidious *Mis-representations* of the most solemn Acts and *Resolutions* of *State*, Virulent and Audacious *Pamphlets* of all *Sorts*, both *Printed* and *Written*, and by a Thousand other *Tricks* and *Inventions*, of the like quality, wherewith the *Father* of *Lyes* and *Slanders* has from time to time suppli'd them, to sow Seeds of *Discord* and *Animosity* in all Families as well publick as *Private*, raise Storms of *Jealousy* and *Discontent*, Alienate the minds and Affections of the People from their *Sovereign*, Principle them into *Disloyalty*, Poyson them in their *Allegiance*, and to divide them into *Parties* and *Factions*: And all this too under the Plausible Cover of zeal against *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Encroachments*; but with a *Direct* (though *Covert*) *Aim* at the Subversion of the most Excellent Form of *Polity* by Law establisht among us, to make way for the Introduction of certain Licentious and Phantastick *Whimsies* of their own. But finding now by Experience that from all these undue Practices and Pretences (how plausible soever) they could promise to themselves little or no Assistance toward the compassing of the Treasonous *Ends* aforesaid; and taking advantage of Apprehensions, and Bitterness of the *Multitude* against the *Presumptive Heir*, upon his being, by these *Incendiaries*, represented as a *Principal* in the Conspiracy; They, laying their Heads together again, resolv'd to change their *Battery*; and wholly apply themselves to the *Altering* of the Legal Succession of the *Crown*: Thus providently Computing upon it, that could they but once of an *Hereditary* turn *This* into an *Elective Kingdom*, and get a *Prince* of the *Peoples Chusing*, 'twas but picking a

Quarrel with him, (and what's more eaſie than to find a *Hole* in another mans Coat?) Dethroning him, and then their *Work* were done, their *Model* would fall in of Courſe. To this end now, with dark *Hints*, and ſecret *Whiſpers*, they bore their Credulous *Proſelites* in hand, as if the K. had *Legitimate Iſſue*: Not intending yet, that *this* Report ſhould forthwith become *Publick*; but to keep it in *Reſerve* till they might gain their Point by't, and then blow it down again with the ſame facility as they had raiſed it. But the *Flam* Squaring ſo exactly with the then Predominant *Humour* of the Rabble, not only went down without Chewing, but alſo ſpred it ſelf ſo much beyond expectation, that the *Authors* of it ſoon found themſelves obliged to gratifie the Curioſity of ſome prying men of the *Faction* with the Grounds and Reaſons of this their Belief. They had their Story at their Fingers-ends; Suggeſted a *Marriage* (or *Contract* at leaſt) between the K. and Mrs. *W.* while Beyond-Sea, and that the late B. of *D.* had Conſigned a writing (in a *Black-Box*) into the Cuſtody of Sir *G. G.* that had been produced before ſeveral Perſons, and imported as much as all *This* came to. This impudent *Pretext* met with Credit from ſuch as were prepared to entertain what they ſo earneſtly deſired ſhould be true; and paſſing from an effect of meer *Spight* in ſome *few*, to a Subject of Looſe and Idle *Diſcourſe* in a great *many*, at length reacht the *Court*: So that Authority (though knowing full well that it was Impoſſible that any thing of *This* ſhould be real, yet) Searching with much Strictneſs of enquiry into the matter, ſoon detected the *whole* to be a moſt *Villanous Impoſture*; to the great Satisfaction of all honeſt and Peaceable men, and no leſs Confuſion of ſuch as had ſuffered themſelves ſo eaſily to be Impoſed upon. The *Principals*, in the mean time, growing Deſperate, upon ſeeing that not only their wicked Intents were thus diſcovered and defeated, but alſo that their Credits, *Fleſh* and all, lay at Stake;

ſtake; their *Familiar* help'd them out at this *dead Lift*, and prompted to the repreſenting the Buſineſs to the Multitude, as a Contrivance of the *Papiſts*, (who (believe me) have faults enough of their *own* to anſwer for, without ſtanding accountable for thoſe of other people) to diſcredit a *juſt Claim*.

Now they were too crafty, not to foreſee that ſuch an undertaking were to give themſelves the Lye, in the face of the Sun; and not to be ſet upon, but by, firſt, trampling under foot all Senſe and Obligations of *Truth*, *Conſcience*, *Honour*, *common Shame*, and *Allegiance*; but to ſuch *Proficients* in *Wickedneſs*, theſe Conſiderations were rather an *Encouragement* than a *Diſſuaſive*; ſo that they took the *Task* in hand, and performed it (under the Notion of *A Letter to a Perſon of Honour, concerning the affairs of the Black Box.*) to the horror and aſtoniſhment of *Chriſtianity*, nay of *Humane Nature* it ſelf. For, purſuing the *Subject* of their late *Appeal from the Country to the City*, (though improving and ſupplying it with freſh additions of twenty times lewder *Tenets* than the former) they inſerted little leſs than downright *Treaſon* into five of the ſeven Printed Pages, in which that pretended *Letter* is contained; and ſtuff't every *Paragraph* of it with all the Falſhood, Sedition, Slander, Inſolence, Contumely, and Detraction, imaginable: Only in this they have overſhot themſelves, that they have daub'd on the Colours ſo abominably *Thick* and *Unskilfully*, and *Reaſon'd* after ſo extravagant a manner, (every ſubſequent Period of it being a ſort of *Confutation* of the Precedent) that there is no great danger of any ſober mans being ſeduced into a favourable *Opinion* of ſo palpable a *Cheat*. They aſſert a *Coordination* of *Government*, cry up the *Sovereign Power* of the *People*, inſinuate the *King* to be *accountable* to his *Subjects*, repreſent him capable of *Self-Depoſition*, ſpeak contemptuouſly of his Sacred *Perſon*, bring him into the *Plot* againſt his own *Life*, Libel the *Privy Council*, attaint

taint the *Blood Royal*, (a) even in the face of the most *solemn Evidence* to the contrary; and fling about their *Poyson* (upon all *Conditions* and *Qualities*) at so horrid a rate, that it is enough to make a man *tremble*, the very *Thought* of it: Insomuch, that did but that illustrious Person, of whom, with a *Brazon'd Front*, they presume to make a *Stake*, for the better passing off their *Villany*, know *where*, or *what* they are, he has too great a sense of *Honour*, *Duty*, and *Filial Tenderness*, not to be the *First*, that should hurry them into a *Court of Justice*. For as he has too much *Courage* to be frightned out of any thing that is his *Due*; so has he too much *Justice* also, to invade the *Property* of another: And since the King's *Declaration* (which by this time possibly may have come to your Hand, and which is since past into a Record) has fully determined upon the Right of *Succession*, it is the Duty of every good *Christian* and *Subject* to rest satisfied, and lay aside all *Contrastations* upon *that* point. Now there is *Impiety* in the bare *Proposition* of Erecting a *crackt Title*; beside, that in all probability we should find such a *Remedy* worse than the *Disease* it self: For thus, a Personal *Quarrel* would be set afoot, and at the *long run* the Spirits of this Generous People beyond measure *Disgusted*, in that they must, *then*, be *subjected* to their *Equal*, who, to retain his *Usurpation*, will be forc'd to Repeat and Accumulate those *Violences*, whereof we had most woful experience under the *Old Protector*: *Otherwise*, he will soon be made the *Object* of our *Contempt*, (as was *Cromwel's* Son, with his *Easie* and *Gentle* way of *Acting*) and his *Name* be used only as a *Cloak* to cover the *Avarice* and *Exorbitances* of a *Ravenous Faction*. Neither, in truth, could *this Project* prevent a *Relapse* into our former *Calamities*, because our *Fears* (in that case) will ever be great and continual, and, consequently, our *Charge* proportionable. To be brief, all the *Evils* and *Miseries* that were brought upon us by the

(a) See Par. 23, 24. and Fol. 64. of Dr. Oats's Narrative of the Plot. And Ireland's Tryal, Fol. 22.

the *Army*, the *Rump*, and all the other *Architects* of our *Slavery* in the late Times, will certainly be found *Tolerable*, compared with the *Genuine Effects* of so *Desperate* and *Unwarrantable a Proceeding*.

§. 7. TO this *Probable* Account of the Business of the *Black-Box*, and Representation of the mischievous *Consequences* of any attempt to Erect a *Crackt Title*, or Interrupt the *true Succession of the Crown*, must (you say) be subjoyned, an enquiry into the principal *Colours* and *Artifices*, that these *Troublers of our Israel* make use of, to palliate and conceal from the *Dim-sighted Mobile*, the *Poyson* and *Disloyalty* of their more secret *Projects* and *Machinations*. And truly (not knowing into what hands these Papers may fall) I shall not grutch my Pains in this particular; For although, as *Islanders* we cannot hope to be clear of all Tincture of levity; though we are so ingenious at starting *Fears* and *Jealousies* (being most Obstinately Tenacious of our *Liberties*) as sometimes to deprive our selves of the Fruition of the *Present* felicities, through too eager and Pensive, a Sollicitation for the *Future*; and so prone to be *Over-heated* upon the question of *Religion*, as to be scarce Capable of avoiding a *Sylla*, without being violently hurri'd upon the *other Extreme* of Miscarrying in a *Charybdis*: Yet *are we* again generally so *Just*, *Loyal*, *Conscientious*, *Sincere*, and *Resolute* a People, as to fall upon Tearing any man in pieces (even though he had before, in his *Disguise*, taken advantage of our Credulity) that should presume in *direct Terms*, to recommend the Changing of the *Establisht Government*, for any other *Model* of *Policy* whatsoever. And indeed *This* is a *Truth* too Notorious, ever to be put to the *Tryal*. But yet so *Hood-winkt* at this time, is our *Reason*, that the very *Umbrage* of the *Presumptive Heirs* being of the *Red-Letter-Stamp*, is of it-self, (without any other *Sleights*) found Sufficient to create in us a firm *Belief*, that *Popery*, and *Tyranny* (the old

old *States*,) are breaking in upon us like a *Deluge*. So that with producing *Arguments*, to *Moderate* our *Apprehensions* as to the *One*, to prove the almost *Impossibility* of Effecting the *Other*, were there never so great a Disposition that way; and with an *Offer* at an *Expedient* of my *own*, in reference to the Security of our *Religion*, and *Freedoms*; I shall put a Period to this Tedious *Scribble*.

No man is more willing than my self, to grant that the *Popish Religion* is little better than a *Compound* of meer *Secular Interest*, *Hypocrisie*, and *Superstition*; and that the very *Principles* of the *Jesuits* do inspirit and Prompt them to the acting of Outragious *Violences*, upon the Persons of those that enjoy a greater *Light* and *Purity* of the *Gospel*, than themselves. But yet I must averr (on the other hand) that, Since, through the peculiar *Mercy* and *Providence* of God, and the Indefatigable Industry and Vigilance of *Authority*; all their *Machinations* have hitherto been defeated, and their *Conspiracies* against *Church* and *State* rendred Abortive; it will become us both as *Men* and *Christians*, to temper our *Passions*, and to rest *satisfied* with the singular *Care* and *Concern*, that the Government vouchsafes continually to express both for our *present* and *future safety* and *preservation*, in all Respects. Full well I know, that nothing is of greater Concernment than the Security of that *Religion*, which, by the Blood of so many blessed and Glorious *Martyrs*, has (by Gods immediate blessing) been so firmly Establish'd amongst us. But then we are to take special heed too that we lend not over easie an *Ear* to such as cry up *Religion*, and design *Faction*; as cry out *Zeal* for the *Lord of Hosts*, when they intend only *Self Interest*; to keep up a *party*; an *Affected way*, or to be the *Ipse dixit* of a *County*: *Religion* has not at all prosper'd by undue practices to advance it. 'Tis *Meekness*, *Patience*, *Humility*, and other the Graces of the *Spirit*, that *Convince* and *Convert*, when *Rigidness*, *Censuring*

ing and the *Sword Inflame* and *Harden*. Has not Gods *power*, or *truth*, *Evidence* to secure it self? Let but the *Gospel* have *Free-passage*, and it will make its own way: For all true *Protestants* do unanimously disown the Promotion of it by the *Sword*, as totally *Unchristian*, and bequeath it to the *Pope*, and the *Turk*. Was not, now, the maintenance of our *Fundamental Laws* the pretence of our late *Quarrel*? Found we not the *Spirit* of the *Nation* rouz'd up, upon the sound of a *Trumpet*? *Popery*, was it not *decry'd*, and *Religion*, *Protestant Religion*, judg'd to be in *danger*? Were we not call'd out to the *Battel*, upon the account of *Zeal*, with *Curse ye Meroz*? And yet under our *Free-Estate* (as they termed it) our *Religion* (so much of it especially as could be call'd *Protestant*) turn'd into *Wantonness*; and our *Divisions* became so great, that we durst not *exasperate*, by advancing that *Idol* of the *Presbyters*, *Discipline*; nor indeed *could* we, if we *durst*; for the most *active* of our *Statists*, If they had any *Religion* at all 'twas that of the *Sectary*, which they own'd as the main *Supporter* of their *Model*, whose *Interest* it was to give *Licentiousness* to *all*. As for *Laws*, those which we ador'd for *Excellency* and *Antiquity*, they were (by them) of necessity alter'd, in our *Freedoms* of *Person* and *Estate*, wherein true *Liberty* is principally concern'd: For when the *House of Commons* (or rather the *Rump* of it) had engross'd the *Soveraign Power*; they both *Imposed* Taxes, and *Levy'd* them, by *vertue* of a *trifling Ordinance*, which could never be done before, but by an Act of *Parliament*, solemnly and regularly pass'd by the *King* and the *Three Estates*. And having of *Tribunes of the people*, (as it were) and their *Bulwark* against *High Payments*, and *Impressures*, demanded by the *King*, advanc'd themselves into the degree of *Princes*; they took upon them to *assess* and *impress* us at pleasure; and we might complain as long as we would of the *Restrained Burthen*; but there was no *remedy* but Patience; because no *Appeal* left us, themselves being both *Parties* and *Judges*.

I

I could heartily wish there were at present no more reason to be apprehensive of *Popery*, than there was in those days: But yet, let his R. H's. *perswasion* be what it will, this I'm sure of, that Dr. *Oates* has deposed upon *Oath*, that the *Jesuits* were so far from *saying* or *acting indifferently*, as to his *person*, that in their *Hellish Plot*, they had mark'd him out also for *Slaughter*, with his most *Royal*, most *Protestant Brother*. Now the late *Marquess* of *Argyle* was wont to lay it down as a *Principle* in *Policy*, that it was the *Character of a wise man*, *not to let the World know what Religion he was of*: But (for my *own* part) I cannot in *Charity* but hope the best (as to Christian tenderness and moderation in Religious concernments) of a *Person*, that has been so *Lectur'd* and *Tutor'd* by our late *Glorious Martyr*, (as well as by *Experience*) into a *Veneration* for, and a *perseverance* in that *Pure*, *Reformed Religion*; the *Principles* of which he suck'd in with his very *Milk*, and in *Defence* of which his ever blessed *Father* laid down his most precious *Life* upon a *Scaffold*. You may read his words thus. 'I do require you, (*addressing to his present Majesty*) as your *Father*, and your *King*, that you never suffer your Heart to receive the least *Check* against, or '*Disaffection* from the *True Religion establish'd in the Church* '*of* England: I tell you I have tryed it, and after much '*Search*, and many *Disputes*, have concluded it to be the *best* 'in the World, not only in the *Community*, as *Christian*, 'but also in the *special Notion*, as *Reformed*; keeping the '*middle way* between the *pomp* of *Superstitious Tyranny*, and 'the *meanness* of *Phantastick Anarchy*, &c. To this sence, spake he, when he had no *more* to speak.

As to the apprehensions of *Tyranny*, I hope (by what I have already delivered in the *Body* of this *Discourse*) it appears, that there is less ground to fear it, than many people might before imagine; for that it is next to an *Impossibility* to introduce it. And upon probable grounds, I perswade my self, that should the *Duke* ever have the *occasion* offer'd,

yet

yet would he be wiser than to make tryal of the *Experiment*; knowing so well as he must needs do, that should the *English Liberties* be violated in the example but of any one single Person, all the tyes of Conscience and Allegiance would hardly be sufficient to restrain the Nation from holding it self concern'd upon that account, and apprehend it self ready for the *Fetters*; whereby, what with *Fear*, what with *Hate*, such a storm would be rais'd, as might shake the surest *Foundations* of the *Government*; and so very much has *Majesty* already suffer'd by the *Fury* of the *People*, that it has no reason to be over earnest upon a fresh encounter of it.

But 'tis farther *Objected* (it seems) that there is a *Vindictive* and *Implacable Spirit* in the Case. Now this is most manifest (indeed) that there have been *provocations* to the *height*; but shall we therefore *continue* to *provoke*, because we have *begun*? 'Tis a Rule (you know) that he that *does wrong*, *never* forgives, but he that *has wrong*, *may*. The Interest of *Revenge* is passionate, but the Interest of *Profit* arises from a *passion* that prevails more; and he is very *weak*, that anteposes *Rumour* and *vain Passion*, when it stands in Competition with his *Safety*. To speak home; *Interest* rules the whole World, and *Princes* (as *others*) do more intend the establishing of their *own Greatness*, than a *petty Revenge* that may *hazard* it: But for this search we the *Experiences* of *past Ages*. *Henry* the *Great* of *France*, was so far from *punishing* any of the *holy League*, that labour'd, by all means possible, to *keep* him from his *Right*, and to *murther* him, that (on the *contrary*) he imployed those very Persons that had been his *main Oppositers*, in his *Armies*, in his *Offices*, and in his *Councils*. And what shall we say of King *James*, who sent *Messages*, made *Vows*, menaced *Revenge*, and all to prevent that fatal *Strok* from falling upon his *Mother*, (the *Queen* of *Scots*) under Queen *Eliz.* but to no effect. Observe the Issue now: Shortly Q. *Eliz.* dies, and those very *Lords* that acted personally

in the *Mother's Death*, were the most forward to *tear* the *Son* to the *Crown*, and he became establish'd with all *Prerogatives* incident to the *English Scepter*. What? Acts he in the way of *Revenge*? No; he, like a *wise Prince*, feeling the *warmth* of so *rich* a *Climate*, generously pardons the *injury* of his *Mother*, and we read not of so much as one of those *Nobles*, or their *Issue*, that suffer'd *Diminution* by any Resentment, upon *that* account. His *wise Father* also, that had been beaten into the knowledge of the *English Spirit*, writes thus: 'Let no Passion (my Son) be 'tray you to any study of *Revenge* upon those whose own 'Sin and Folly will sufficiently punish them in due time. 'Be confident that *most* of all *Sides* that have done *Amiss*, 'have done so, not out of *Malice*, but *Mis-information*, or 'Mis-apprehension of Things. None will be more *Loyal* 'to *Me* or *You*, than those Subjects, who, sensible of *Their* 'Errors, and *Our Injuries*, will feel, in their own *Souls*, 'most vehement *motions* to *Repentance*, and earnest *desires* 'to make some *Reparations* for their former *Defects*, &c. The like said he at his *last hour*. But why do we *Doubt* or *Distrust*? May we not have a *Protestant Parliament* upon all *Exigencies*? Have we not a *Protestant Council*, a *Protestant Militia*, a *Protestant Clergy*, and a *Protestant People*? what (in reason) can we desire more, toward our future security?

§. 8. YOU will not expect from me (I'm sure) that I should so acquit my self of every *Objection*, as to leave all men satisfied, especially such as carry a *Bias* of *Preferment*, *Profit*, or *Faction*. Men that have in design *Exorbitancies* of *Power*, or *Wealth*, will hardly, with *Arguments*, be reclaimed: And some there are (I know) that have so long possessed their *Heads* with *strong Notions*, that they are not capable to take in *Reason* against them; and therefore upon, run on *Frantick* in Error, till there be a *Rotation* in their *Brains*. Such there are, who with *Confidence*, so often

have

have told a *Lye*, that, at length, themselves come to believe it to be a *Truth*: But we shall be too wise (I hope, should ever that day come) to prefer the *Interest* or *Willfulness* of a *Few*, to the *Safety* and *Welfare* of the *Whole*. I shall not deny, yet, that it is easier to demonstrate what *may be Evil*, than positively to assert what *will be Good*: but however comparing *Times* with *Things*, (as is above represented) I doubt not to Evidence, that to *keep where we are*, and to *be contented with our Lot*, is a Course much rather to be embrac'd, as that which, in great *probability may be Good*, than, by pulling at *Incertainties*, to pull down most lamentable *Confusions* and *Desolations* upon our own *Heads*, which of necessity must *be Evil*. Therefore ever was, and still am of opinion, that it is both our *Interest* and our *Duty* to embrace, with *Open Arms*, the late, ample, generous *Offers* of his most Gracious Majesty, in order to Provisions for our *future Security*, in point of *Freedom* and *Religion*. As for the *Rest*, let us but have our *Good Old Laws* duly put in Execution, and then (by Gods Assistance) we shall be in a *Capacity* to defie the *Pope*, the *Devil*, and all their *Works*, come what will come.

9. Thus far have I run through the several *Heads* that you were pleased to propound: And if by what I have written, I be so fortunate as to make your Friend a *Convert*, 'twill be an infinite satisfaction to me, because, thereby I may hope to *save a Soul*, but, at the worst, I may say with the Text, that *I shall hide a multitude of Sins*. Now should I frame twenty *Excuses* to you, for the Length, the Inequality, the Insufficiency, nay and for the Boldness and Presumption of this Discourse, but I have neither Will nor Leisure to *Trifle* at such a rate: I am conscious to my self (no man more) of my great want of Abilities, requisite for an *Undertaking* of such Weight and Importance, only I was resolv'd to let you see, that no *Considerations* whatsoever were of force with me to withstand the Au-

thority of your *Commands*. I have unbosom'd my self to you, Sir, (under the protection of a *Private Letter*) with all the Frankness and Simplicity imaginable; not doubting but you will make such use of it, as shall not redound to the *Disadvantage* of

SIR,

Your most Obedient Servant,

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FINIS.

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